

Thirty-five Years of Educational Pioneering

— and a Look Ahead

JOHN DEWEY
JONATHAN DANIELS
NORMAN THOMAS
HARRY W. LAIDLER

AND OTHERS

THE UNIVERSITY
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LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

112 East 19th Street, New York City

Thirty-five Years of Educational Pioneering

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L. I. D. Celebrates Past Achievements
and asks
"Where Do We Go From Here?"

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JONATHAN DANIELS
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112 EAST 19TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY

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— and a Look Ahead

ON THURSDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 28, the League for Industrial Democracy held its Thirty-fifth Anniversary Dinner in the Hotel Edison, New York City. The dinner was sponsored by scores of men and women prominent in the educational, political and economic life of the country and was attended by approximately 400 members and friends of the League. Scores of congratulatory messages were received on the occasion of the dinner. A part of the program was broadcast over WEVD.

The main speakers of the evening were John Dewey, President of the I.L.D. and one of the world's foremost educators and philosophers; Jonathan Daniels, editor of the Raleigh News and Observer and author of a *Southernner Discovers the South*; Norman Thomas, four times Socialist nominee for President and former Executive Director of the League for Industrial Democracy, and Harry W. Laidler, Executive Director of the League and New York City Councilman. In addition a number of members and friends of the League extended short greetings. These included Leonard D. Abbott, Roger Baldwin, Leroy E. Bowman, Bjarne Braatoy, Wallace J. Campbell, Mary Fox, Mary Hiller, Jessie W. Hugan, Nathaniel M. Minkoff, Joseph Schlossberg, Joel Seidman and Ashley L. Totten.

The chief subject of the evening's discussion was "Where Do We Go From Here? — America in the Crisis."

ADDRESS OF WELCOME

JOHN DEWEY

IT is an honor for me to have the privilege of welcoming an audience like this upon an occasion like this. Thirty-five years is about the length of time conventionally assigned to a generation, so we are here to celebrate the completion of the first generation's life of the League for Industrial Democracy. I shall not attempt to report its notable achievements nor tell the story of its past. There are, however, two aspects of its history that I cannot refrain from mentioning.

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This is the first of a long series of years in which Robert Morris Lovett is not the President of this organization. I know you will all join me in paying a tribute of respect and admiration to the man who has always given so generously of himself to every cause that promises advance in human freedom and brotherhood. And I know that your thoughts have already anticipated anything I can say in expression of our gratitude to Harry Laidler for his untiring devotion through all these years to the I.I.D. and all the excellent things for which the I.I.D. stands. I am afraid the phrase "the scholar in politics" hasn't much meaning. If it had more significance, I should unhesitatingly nominate my friend, the friend of all of us, the Executive Director of the I.I.D., for the position of "gentleman and scholar" in political public education.

For while the I.I.D. is an educational rather than a political organization, yet in a democracy the two things, education and politics, cannot be separated from each other. Indeed, even totalitarian states differ from previous despotic states in history because they have learned that, under the conditions which exist today, even dictatorships must have a popular support which only some kind of education can furnish. The noble distinction of a democratic society lies in the kind of unity it establishes between education and politics. It is for the people to instruct their officials, not for a few officials to regulate the sentiments and ideas of the rest of the people; the final criterion and test of what is done by our legislative bodies from the United States Senate to the humblest village Common Council is what effect their actions have upon the ideas and emotions of the citizens of the country.

The Democratic Ideal and Youth

So much is said now on the subject of democracy that one almost feels like apologizing for adding anything to the stream. But in speaking for the I.I.D., it is not out of place to remind you that democracy above all else is an educational enterprise; that it rests upon faith in public opinion and upon faith that the democratic process will result in the growth of a public opinion which is capable, enlightened and honest. Voluntary organizations have to play a role and have a duty to perform in carrying on this educational work. The conditions that originally brought the I.I.D. into existence, not merely my own lifelong occupation with college education, make it appropriate to say something first about the work the I.I.D. attempts to do with and

among college students. Probably everybody is aware that in Germany the universities were hotbeds of the reaction that prepared the way for Hitler's arrival at supreme power. We do not have anything of that particular kind to fear in this country. But insecurity and uncertainty as to jobs and future careers on the part of youth are things which prepare the way for lack of confidence in the democratic way of life and for willingness to worship strange gods. Protection against these dangers is education in the fact that democracy is a moving thing; that its possibilities are far from exhausted, and that its great need is expansion into the industrial field. It is the special task of a League for Industrial Democracy to bring this lesson home to college youth. What young men and women need above all else is a sense of unrealized possibilities opening new horizons, which will inspire them to creative effort. It is this phase of the democratic way of life, not as yet realized, which it is the special office of the I.I.D. to bring to the attention of youth in our colleges, thereby giving them the sense of something fine and great for which to live.

Defend Democracy by Extending It

But much the same task faces us in connection with the general public with which we have contact. We hear now on all sides about defense. Defense is the most conspicuous thing before the public; no advertisement is complete without some reference to it. The other day I noticed ads on the public highways urging persons to attend the movies as a means of national defense. Now defense pure and simple is a negative aim; it sounds too much like keeping things away, holding them at a distance. The military maxim that offense is the best defense has a social counterpart if we translate *aggressive* to mean positive and constructive. The only sure way to defend democracy in the long run is to fight to extend it here and now, here at home, to fields of action hitherto not touched by it.

I recently read a book by a German now living in exile because of his profound revolt against Nazi oppressions and cruelties. In spite of his personal experience of these things and his horror of them, he says that the great danger of western democracies is that they will regard what has happened in totalitarian countries of Europe as symptoms of a passing unrest, while, in reality, they are the signs of profound change in the very structure of society. The danger is especially strong with us because of our distance from the immediate

scene of upheaval. It falls in with the notion that defense is a negative matter, a kind of armed quarantine against infection from abroad. But one sure thing about the present state of the world is that it is not going to be the same world we have known in the past, no matter what happens on the battle field.

There are periods when forces that have been slowly gathering in the past come to a head, and produce a great change more or less abruptly. Unless all signs fail, we are now living in one of the three or four most fateful periods of all history. If it sounds pessimistic to say this, it is because of assumption that the change must be for the worse. It is also possible that, after suffering and agony, the change may be for a better society, making possible a freer and more secure life for all. This better prospect can become an actuality only as our defense takes the form of creative activity to make the democratic way of life a deeper and wider reality than it has been. One hundred and fifty years ago we were the undenied and undisputed leader in pointing the nations of the world to a more just, because freer, form of government. We are still a young nation measured in years of existence. We are old in spirit if we cannot once more by the example of our own form of life point out the way in which the nations of the earth can walk in freedom and cooperative peace.

The task ahead is a hard one and will be accomplished but slowly by the combined efforts of great numbers. The I.I.D. is but one of the many forces that may carry us forward—and very fortunately so. But it has a special field to cultivate, a special audience to reach, and even if that audience is comparatively limited and the work the I.I.D. can do but a humble scene in the vast historic drama that is unrolling, it behooves us to play well that part. In welcoming you as guests to this dinner to celebrate the thirty-fifth anniversary of the existence of this organization, I am in a deeper sense also welcoming you to opportunity to take part in the creative activity of constructing a social order which shall be democratic all the way through, and this activity is as inspiring in its possibilities as the present world situation is dark and depressing in its actuality. We cannot help asking: Where do we go from here? The only possible answer, in spite of all difficulties and in spite of the reactionary forces that always gather strength in time of war, is Forward, not Back. And while we have an enormous amount to learn, we can learn what we need to know in the very process of acting together to create a democracy that shall be a living reality in every aspect and reach of our common life.

THIRTY-FIVE YEARS OF THE I.I.D.

HARRY W. LAIDLIER

THIRTY-FIVE years ago this fall, the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, predecessor of the League for Industrial Democracy, was organized. As a junior at Wesleyan University, I was intrigued by the following call for the organization meeting issued by a distinguished group of American writers, as follows:

CALL FOR AN INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST SOCIETY

"In the opinion of the undersigned the recent remarkable increase in the Socialist vote in America should serve as an indication to the educated men and women in the country that Socialism is a thing concerning which it is no longer wise to be indifferent.

"The undersigned, regarding its aims and fundamental principles with sympathy, and believing that in them will ultimately be found the remedy for many far-reaching economic evils, propose organizing an association, to be known as the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, for the purpose of promoting an intelligent interest in Socialism among college men and women, graduate and undergraduate, through the formation of study clubs in the colleges and universities, and the encouraging of all legitimate endeavors to awaken an interest in Socialism among the educated men and women of the country.

"Oscar Lovell Triggs

J. G. Phelps Stokes

Thomas Wentworth Higginson

B. O. Flower

Charlotte Perkins Gilman

Leonard D. Abbott

Clarence S. Darrow

Jack London

William English Walling

Upton Sinclair"

The meeting organized as a result of the call was held on the top floor of Peck's Restaurant, 140 Fulton Street, New York City, on the afternoon of September 12, 1905. When I reached the meeting hall, I found Upton Sinclair, then a young man not quite 27, speaking in the midst of an eager group of college students and alumni and telling his audience that he had been graduated from C.C.N.Y. and had taken advanced courses in Columbia without having gained the slightest conception of the meaning of the labor and the Socialist movements. A society should be formed, he maintained, to dispel the ignorance of collegians, among others, in regard to the significant

social movements of the day and to make them aware of their social responsibility.

There was little disagreement with this point of view. The I.S.S. was organized then and there with Jack London as President, Upton Sinclair and J. G. Phelps Stokes, Vice-Presidents, and Owen R. Lovejoy, Treasurer. By mere accident, I found myself elected as a representative of college undergraduates on the Executive Committee.

The motto adopted by the young society in its early days was "light, more light." Its stated object was "to promote an intelligent interest in Socialism among college men and women."

To spread more light on Socialism and the labor movement was the primary aim of the I.S.S. It was with this object in mind that Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Clarence Darrow, Leonard D. Abbott and others signed the organization call.

After its organization, *Collier's Weekly* vigorously criticized Thomas Wentworth Higginson, "the grand old man of Harvard," for signing the call. Mr. Higginson replied that the primary aim of the society was to create *students of socialism*, not to produce Socialists, and that those who criticized this object "must be classed with those medieval grammarians who wrote, 'May God confound thee for thy theory of irregular verbs.'" At the same time he called to the attention of the magazine the fact that we are "more and more surrounded by institutions, such as free schools, free text books, free libraries, free water supplies, free lecture courses, even free universities, which were all called socialistic when they were first proposed and which so able a man as Herbert Spencer denounced as Socialism till his dying day."

It was to spread "light, more light" in the inner recesses of the colleges of those days, that Jack London took his spectacular trip among the colleges in early 1906. "What we in the I.S.S. do not want," he declared in his Yale address during that trip, "is that which obtains today and has obtained in the past of the university, a mere deadness and unconcern and ignorance so far as Socialism is concerned. Fight for us or fight against us. Raise your voices one way or the other; be alive. That is the idea upon which we are working."

It was to spread such light and knowledge that Upton Sinclair, following the formation of the I.S.S., spent many an evening, after a day's work on the *Jungle*, sending out letters and bundle orders of literature from his farm home outside of Princeton and that George Strobell, owner of a Newark jewelry factory, contributed more time

to the work of the Society and similar organizations than he devoted to his business.

It was to spread such light that the first executive Committee, including Katherine Maltby Meserole, who hoped until the last to be with us tonight, Robert Hunter, then working on his book on *Poverty*, Morris Hilquit, brilliant Socialist leader and labor lawyer, and Messrs. London, Sinclair, Stokes, Strobell, and George Willis Cooke, gave generously of their thought and energy to the work of the society.

Time forbids a rehearsal to you of the pioneering years of the I.S.S. It was my privilege to serve on the society's Executive Committee from the beginning, and to join its staff in the fall of 1910, a generation ago, as organizer and executive.

From 1905 to 1921, years of the administrations of Presidents Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson, years of depression and prosperity, of peace and war, the I.S.S. carried out a fundamental educational work in the colleges and centers of population of the country. The society was then, as the L.I.D. is today, a genuinely cooperative educational venture. J. G. Phelps Stokes, and later Florence Kelley and Arthur Gleason, served as its Presidents, while among the most ardent and effective members of its committees, besides those mentioned, were Mary R. Sanford, Helen Phelps Stokes, now Vice-Presidents of the League, Jessie W. Hughan, Louise Adams Floyd, Ernest Poole, Leroy Scott, Albert DeSilver, Louis Boudin, William English Walling, Evans Clark, Robert W. Bruerer, Ellis Jones, Nicholas Kelley, Elizabeth Dutcher, I. M. Rubinow and Norman Thomas.

College Pioneering

The society's work was indeed a new adventure. In scores of colleges, our speakers were the first to present to the students the challenge of a new social order. In some instances they were among the first to grapple seriously at college assembly with an economic problem. I remember my visit during these days to one Ohio University. I had sent a telegram beforehand to a professor friend of mine stating that I planned to stop at his institution. On receipt of the telegram, my friend asked the Dean whether I could speak in the chapel. The Dean had never asked anyone to address the chapel exercises on any other than a religious subject. He was faced with a dilemma. Finally, he asked my friend to bow down on his knees with him and pray for enlightenment. Should a speaker on economics address the students at

chapel? Unfortunately the prayer brought no sure conviction. However, the Dean asked that I be present at the chapel the next morning and, perhaps, by then he would know the answer. I was on hand. The Dean opened the chapel exercises. He read from the Scriptures. He prayed. He led the hymns. He then dismissed the chapel, but, as the students were about to leave, informed them that, now that the chapel was over, a lecturer from out of town would speak on "The Social Challenge to the College Student."

The students remained. They listened. A perfect solution had been arrived at. I delivered the message. The students heard the message, but no one could say that an unworthy note had been injected into the chapel exercises as such.

My friend the professor, on the same visit, I think it was, wanted to give me a chance to speak before his English class. He was for a while in a quandry as to how my talk might fit into his course. At last he hit on an idea. He took me to class and introduced me as follows: "We are this week discussing the difficult subject of logical fallacies. By rare good fortune my old college friend Laidler is here this morning and I have asked him to give a talk on Socialism, which many people claim is a philosophy shot through and through with logical fallacies. I will ask you to listen to every word in that talk, to write down his argument, and to try to discover how many such fallacies he has perpetrated. We will then spend the next two lessons in analyzing his speech."

I rarely had a more attentive audience, and I was told later that the next few sessions were among the liveliest held on the campus that year.

Many present day leaders of thought were among the active members of I.S.S. college chapters during those days: Bruce Bliven, Freda Kirchwey, Paul Douglas, Kenneth Macgowan, Isador Lubin, Evans Clark, Devere Allen, John Temple Graves, Jr., Mary Fox, Carl Llewellyn, Broadus Mitchell, Abraham Epstein, Otto Beyer, Theresa Wolfson, and a host of others at Stanford, Barnard, Columbia, Harvard, Clark, Amherst, Oberlin, Princeton, Vassar, Yale, Johns Hopkins, Pittsburgh, Illinois, Wisconsin, and other colleges.

The I.I.D. Emerges

In 1921, the I.S.S. was reorganized as the League for Industrial Democracy, and placed on a somewhat broader basis than the old I.S.S. While strengthening its work in the colleges, it directed increas-

ing attention to the general public and, while educating for a far-flung system based on production for use, devoted much of its thought and energy to the immediate problems before the labor movement on the economic, the cooperative, the political and the cultural fronts.

Robert Morris Lovett became the League's first president and Charles P. Steinmetz, America's electrical wizard, its vice-president, while Roger Baldwin performed noteworthy services for the League during its transitional period.

Most of you in this audience have followed more or less closely the fortunes of the League during the gay twenties and the depressed thirties, not only in the colleges, but among civic, labor and unemployed groups. I shall not repeat here the story of these achievements.

From 1922 until way into the thirties, Norman Thomas gave of his magnificent energies to the direction of the League and spoke under League auspices in hundreds of colleges and centers of population throughout the land. Paul Blanshard, prior to his distinguished civic work in this city, served for years as the League's brilliant Field Secretary. Mary Fox, as the League's imaginative Executive Secretary, initiated many a pioneering educational venture.

At various stages in its development, the League was fortunate in securing the services of such valued cooperators as Mary Hillier, for the half dozen years the field director of the League's remarkable Lecture Series; of Joel Seidman, scholar and authority on labor problems; of H. S. Raushenbush, electric power expert; of Paul Porter, Monroe Sweetland, George Edwards, Joseph Lash, Anna Caples and other dynamic college organizers and staff members. And throughout these years it was blessed by a self-sacrificing and efficient office staff, among its members, Sarah Kaplan, Toby Jablow, Hattie Ross, Josephine Pascal and Mary Fuller; by a group of faithful Board members; by a Finance Committee on which Elisabeth Gilman, Bertha Poole Weyl, Ethel Clyde, the late Charney Viadeck, Stuart Chase, Nicholas Kelley, Alfred Baker Lewis, Reinhold Niebuhr and Norman Thomas were leading members; and, finally, by a splendid group of local chapter officers, loyal contributors and rank and filers who supported the League through thick and thin.

The League's Consistent Goal

In these years, the League, in all its work, sought to combine social idealism with economic realities and to impress upon the American

people the eternal values of democracy in the fields of politics, industry and education.

Rexford G. Tugwell, Chairman of the New York City Planning Commission, in a message just received, admirably sets forth the spirit and attitude of the League during these three and a half decades, in the following words:

"What it is to guard the values traditionally known as American, the League has always known, even when it was difficult to distinguish the true from the false. When many citizens thought it reasonable to linger in an easy world of rural morals and craft enterprise, the League was aware of the technological forces which had made these attitudes and activities obsolete. It chose to fight for liberty on the battleground of reality rather than in the safe shadows of reminiscence. In these days it becomes clearer that this was always necessary. The new dangers from abroad are the same ones which have continually threatened here at home. This is a good time to celebrate consistency in the long struggle for humanity and to resolve that nothing shall divert us from its pursuit in future."

The last words of Rex Tugwell deal with the future. The League's past cannot be relived. Historians, we hope, will say that that past, despite many a shortcoming, has been a worthy one.

But our concern tonight is a concern not about what the League meant in the days that are gone, but about the services which the League may be able to render to Society in the days and years that are to come.

Facing the Future

The I.I.D. is facing a country far different from that which the founders of the League faced thirty-five years ago in that upper room in Peck's Restaurant.

In some ways the state of the country bears quite a resemblance to those days. In the White House was a Roosevelt, advocate of more preparedness, opponent of economic royalists or "malefactors of great wealth," as they were then called, ready to wield the big stick, and committed to a square deal—the new deal of those days.

However, there are profound differences between those days and today. The trust and combine movement, while it had advanced sufficiently to create an army of muck-rakers who sought its destruction—Charles Edward Russell, Lincoln Steffens, Ray Stannard Baker, among them—was, in 1905, still in its infancy. Few governmental regu-

latory agencies had been established. Social insurance, collective bargaining, wage and hour legislation, hardly existed. The main economic question before the American people those days was whether the trend toward big business capitalism should be continued, or whether we should return to the horse and buggy stage of the nineteenth century. Abroad, the continuous evolution of democratic processes was taken almost for granted.

Since then we witnessed, particularly during the twenties, tremendous strides toward concentration of industrial control. This development was accompanied by technological advances hitherto undreamed of, by greatly increased use of our electrical resources, and by the fleeting hope on the part of many that the new capitalism, as a result of the policies of the new leaders of finance and industry, would somehow or other usher in an era of security and national well-being.

Ten years ago, that hope was shattered. The unplanned capitalist system proved unable to solve the problem of unemployment. We have since passed through the most extensive period of depression in our history and we are now looking to the development of the armament industry to bring another era of so-called good times.

This depression has led to the creation of an infinite number of regulatory organizations. You heard that facetious description of these agencies by Will Rogers in the early days of the New Deal, when he said: "The President has created the F.E.R.A. and the A.A.A. and the P.W.A. so that the F.E.R.A. and the A.A.A. and the P.W.A. shall work in conjunction with the N.R.A. with the financial help of the R.F.C. which will pay the bills of the C.C.C. and get in return for all moneys loaned to all these initials their I.O.U.s." "Never," said Will Rogers, "was any country in the throes of so many capital letters as the old U.S.A. But we still have not sent up the S.O.S."

Since the late Will Rogers gave birth to this witicism, some of those initials have been liquidated, and others have been created, while social legislation has advanced on numerous fronts and public ownership has been extended in such fields as housing and electricity. These developments have ameliorated some of our social evils, but the profit system is still intact, and insecurity, poverty, industrial wastes and gross inequalities of income and of economic power still exist. Abroad the god of war is striding across the continent and political democracy on the continent has been almost wiped out, developments that are having tremendous repercussions on this nation.

In view of the national and international situation, an increasing

amount of collective effort is bound to be the order of the day and one of the big problems before us is whether that effort will lead in the direction of some type of fascism or will steadily strengthen democratic processes in these United States.

The I.I.D. is anxious to do its part in meeting this problem; in formulating a constructive, democratic program of social change; in pointing out what political and economic procedures should be adopted if the coming collectivism is to be wholly democratic.

In its future work, we urge your continued support. We face two dangers: one, that we will be taken for granted, because we have survived the first 35 years; the second, that we will take ourselves for granted, and fail to adjust ourselves to the new conditions facing us and society. We trust that these dangers may be minimized in the coming years.

In the year ahead, with your help, we want to continue and strengthen our pamphlet literature, our lecture work, our radio broadcasting, our conferences on vital public problems, our summer school for students, our local branches, our lecture and research work. We hope to stimulate the hardest kind of thinking on the problem we have just discussed. We are happy to announce that Joseph Schlossberg, secretary-treasurer emeritus of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and a member of the Board of Higher Education of this city, has consented to take a two month's trip under our auspices to the Pacific Coast in early 1941; that Leroy Bowman, sociologist and I.I.D. Field Secretary, just returned from a lecture and organizing trip among the colleges and centers of population, is planning to spend most of his time in the field for us this next year, and that Joel Seidman, Clarence Senior and others are available for numerous lectures under our auspices. We are also glad to repeat that the Board of Directors of the League has decided, as you know, to supplement our lecturing and pamphleteering work in the college field with actual organization of college chapters as in the days of the Student I.I.D. This venture, we are assured, will restore to college campuses a type of democratic discussion group which has been of late sorely lacking in many of our institutions of higher learning.

To the members of this audience we are deeply grateful for your past support. In all of our future activities, we urge your continued and ardent cooperation. The extent and value of our services will be in direct proportion to that cooperation. May all of us here who have caught a vision of a secure, a democratic, a free and abundant society,

join with us in this educational effort, toward making that society, despite our present darkened horizon, a genuine reality.

MAKING A BETTER AMERICA

JONATHAN DANIELS

Nor here in New York, I am sure, but elsewhere, I find that the closer I get to the Atlantic Ocean the harder it is to see America. My friends in New England are already counting possible bomb shelters. Last week in Charleston a grandson of the Confederacy was complaining bitterly about the absence of anti-aircraft guns on the battery. An energetic newspaperman I know who covers the sea-island duck shooting country back of Hatteras sent me last week his fears all complete with maps to show how the Germans could slip an expeditionary force right under the duck blinds into the United States. Certainly, they are not alone. There are hardly any of us free now from moments of uneasiness. Fear faces east. Fear faces seaward. It looks dark out there and it is dark. But sometimes some of us need to turn around to look at strength and to understand also what that strength is.

We have almost forgotten our braggart legend. And maybe that is just as well. We were not all Paul Bunyans splitting to make lakes and dragging our pick axes to cut the Grand Canyon of the Colorado. As a matter of fact, behind big talk we were a little, scared people in the wilderness. Sometimes the little people seem the brave, just as they are the little people who make the mark of London's gallantry now. Our big, lusty, loud-talking, irreverent past was made by little people, too. The heroes of great dimensions walk in our poetry. But it was the poor people who came over here. The settlement of this continent amounted to the WPA project of the 17th and 18th centuries. The pioneers who braved the wilderness were some of them running away from old problems, too. And here in America it was the process of the progressive ejection of the littlest men in the East which filled our plains. The great and the secure did not live in the sod huts of Nebraska. Most of the people who rushed to California after gold, needed it—and needed it badly. Some of the American pioneers who pushed back the wilderness, fought the Indians, made America more lusty, strong and brave. A good many of them must also have been scared to death. Civilizing a continent was a brave business, but it seems safe to think that it was accomplished by frightened people. This is little

man's land. But the Lilliputians made a Brobdingnag. It is giant country still.

Sometimes, however, it seems to me that the stronger we get the more jitters we have. Somehow, maybe it began as pure gain from a Babbitty boastfulness, we seem to have lost faith in our powers as our powers have grown. People talk about Americans being soft as if all the preceding generations had been morally and physically strong. We look out to sea with a full sense of confusion behind us. People talk about unity as if it were something America possessed and has lost. I come from a region where long ago men went about grumbling that it was a rich man's war and a poor man's fight but fought like the devil just the same. I'm glad I'm a man of a land where a part of freedom has been to cuss the boss, damn the Republicans and denounce the Democrats, fuss about taxes, complain about the poor, blame the rich. We began to quarrel before we landed in the wilderness, we moved across the mountains and the prairies arguing among ourselves, sometimes with guns. We made the American unity in a bloody civil war. It is strong now, if not stronger than it ever was.

Must Look at America

Sometimes, indeed, it seems to me today that danger as well as safety lies in the almost unanimous preoccupation of Americans with the crisis which seems to be closing in upon us from abroad. I am caught in it. Almost all of us are. But it startled me the other day to see it in someone else. The sentence stuck up out of an article by an intelligent writer, speaking apologetically to the effect that it was an odd time in the world's history to be writing about the housing problems of Chicago Negroes. After all houses were being knocked down on top of people in London. Not only the very poor there are sleeping in subways. The rookeries of Chicago, even when their meaning extends all the way through the meaning of America through Mississippi to the Gulf, seem almost insignificant now. But its seeming insignificance is terrifying, too. We have a task in defense of America, maybe in defense of the civilization of the world. But we shall never preserve the American way of life if we do not keep our eyes on the American scene.

This is a dinner party for prophets of which I am not one. Where do we go from here? Somehow the answer rises not out of prophecy but fear. We are Hitler-driven. He is not only tearing down London but building our ships, speeding our factories, drawing our young men

into camps. He might, indeed, impose a tyranny upon us or around us, keeping us, even in adequate defense, prisoners behind our own guns.

We can see that looking from the shore. But we must look at America also if we are Americans. Look at America: Its richness and strength remain, mines and mountains, fields and plants—a possession nowhere equalled. The old problems of its so many good little people remain. Men were still angry as they voted in a healing dust bowl. Back of the Joas the road still runs to people who may have to follow them. But the pace quickens. The rising defense factories in the middle South, desperately welcome, will speed the mechanization of the farms as workers leave them—where sentiment and lethargy have slowed mechanization before. The tractors will faster pull the houses down, leaving fewer places for fewer men, no places to which men might return. And in the factories to which they go now the demands of war—the hurry, hurry, hungry demands—will mean, must mean, a new tempo in technology—the introduction of machines and more machines which will remain even if at last the men are turned out.

And watch the land: Not only are the barracks rising, the trees are being cut down. I stood last week and watched a mill cutting boards for barracks and close beside it the new pines had not yet stopped the gullies. The best soil conservation engineers are needed now for defense. If war comes—if war goes on—war is food and food is the plow. The scars are still on the hills of Iowa from the last war; in South Carolina, where the cotton line went up higher and higher, the red dirt is pouring into the rivers still except where rock has been laid bare.

Oh, yes, I know, war might solve the farm problem. I have seen it so solved before. Negro tenants half naked now might wear silk shirts again. But I've seen those Negroes after the shirts wore out and they were still trying to raise cotton out of equally worn land. (So poor you could hear the cotton grunting trying to grow). It was not hard to find little pickaninnies and little tow heads, too, without cotton shirts to cover their little tails on the cotton farms.

Oh, yes, I know also that there will be jobs. There will be more jobs than trained men. Down in the South where we have more children to educate and less money with which to do it, we are getting Federal aid in education now to teach the boys skills. There is nothing the South needs more. And yet, I'm afraid. If there is ever peace again, the tractors will have pulled down the houses. What will keep up the jobs? I remember the huge Amoskeag Mills in Manchester, New Hampshire,

and how many millions of dollars and jobs for men and women it made during the last war. When I saw it, it was almost an empty monument to the past—a roaring past. All around it now in New England, even old factories work at a faster pace. The old fear that New England industry was slipping disappears. The machine tools make a noise like a lullaby. They sing while industry is spreading also in the West and South. It will stay spread even if it does not stay spinning. Old parts of it and new parts of it, too, may die again.

And ourselves, we the people. The new census came with the fear of this war to show us that we had fewer younger people and more old ones. We older people had been fortifying ourselves against the young with rules in labor unions, and standards in professions and with an amazing sympathy for unemployed men over 40 at a time when a larger ratio of men over 40 was employed than at any time in the history of the world. But the young are the keystone of the arch of defense now, the President says. Youth is important, imperative. The aging of us the people is a process which war will hasten also. And the young are greatest in number in the have-not regions of the United States.

We may not know where we are going but most of us must see that the quickening of pace is not restricted to planes, it includes also problems and peoples. It is all done to defend the American way of life. But that changes, too. There are, of course, ultimates which we hold to even in change. But a great many people seem to be talking of the American way of life as if it were merely comfort in the accustomed ways.

War and Social Change

War does not merely change the pattern of frontiers and blow down the ancient landmarks of cities. War destroys time—or so speeds it as to alter its meaning. It may turn the clock back or spin its hands. We talk a lot about the destruction of things out of the past and neglect the speeding to us of the future. Defense hurries change a long way from the fighting. It would be possible, I think, to make a case to show that Boston was almost as much changed by the Civil War as Richmond was. We may come to a greater change in America without the impact of bombing planes upon us than takes place even in England.

We were moving before Munich. Even the Joads went West as a mechanized unit. How many more Negroes would move with war's pushing from Mississippi to the new, crowded, urban black belts. And

behind them, what will the tractors and the sawmills, busy again as they will be for war, do in hastening the spoilage of lands and forests with which we had just begun to deal?

Is it an odd moment in the world's history to contemplate the housing of Negroes in Chicago? Is it a strange time to remember still the forests and the fields, the little people on the little crowded farms where the young are made and from which the young are moving? Is it a strange time to watch at home the crowded roads, the shifting directions, the increasing speeds in the shaping of the America to which we go?

Turn around from the sea and be frightened at home—or heartened. Our worlds are not merely altered in the air above London. Here by our determination or lethargy, our preoccupation or vigilance, the American way of life is being shaped. What happens in the people is always more important than what happens in the Constitution. Democracy speaks before any elections. Our way will not be grandfather's way, though things he held precious must be in it or forever lost. It will not even be the way we knew and cherished but a little while ago—cherish even now. But it will be what Americans make it—not what Hitler makes it—not what any foreign forces anywhere make it. We go to a destination we prepare now and here. And our defense against a future we fear is as much here as far away—more here—always here.

The Task of Patriots

We must remember that. Our eyes are on Europe—our fears are there—on the Burma Road, also, and Singapore. I am no isolationist now to call them back. Isolation is one of those things that are gone. There is no isolation any longer. But there is an America still, ours and separate, ours and inescapable. It is the giant land the little people built. They made it not only wide but strong. It is, I think, safe from every assault from far away. But the conquest by change is already in progress. The America I knew—the America you knew—is gone. What we go to is either the America we have feared—or the America we have hoped for—which is the America worthy of the human gallantry of little men. We can't go home again but we were all once the dispossessed of the earth who took the wilderness as all the world had for us. We were afraid then. We are afraid now. But time moves and our eyes and hands must be on it. We shall not be complacent to the tragedy of the world if we are also vigilant at home.

It is not dictatorship I fear but ourselves. Our strength and hope is ourselves, also. A better America is not going to grow behind our backs while we look only toward the sea.

Where do we go from here? Every man asks it and no man expects an answer. Well, we can be confident about it; we go to change, but to no greater change than little men went to before us. And we are not going to be any more frightened than the pioneers were in the ships and wagons long ago. We will be no more homesick for the past than boys in Virginia were for Vermont. We face no more appalling darkness than they knew. We are the same little people. But our business at home in the accumulation of power is the continuation of hope. We stand on the edge of darkness but we stand in America, too. Where we go, we go with Americans. And the new pace in the new mobility does not only bring danger close, it brings men close, too, at home. At greater and greater speeds now out of dispersal—out of sections and regions—defense hastens the making of one America. It will be strong, undoubtedly; it is the task of patriots to make it also good.

TOTALITARIANISM VERSUS THE COOPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH

NORMAN THOMAS

THIRTY-FIVE years, at least to men of my age, seems no very long span of time. Yet these thirty-five years through which the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, later the League for Industrial Democracy, has lived has seen a whole world change by terrible and momentous events to a degree unmatched in history. When men of such diverse views as Jack London, Upton Sinclair and Col. Higginson of Boston united to promote the study of Socialism, especially in the colleges, private capitalism was, or seemed to be, in the flush of steadily expanding power. Most of all was this true in America. It could afford some social reform; it did not need fundamental change.

To the sons and daughters of the upper and middle classes who made up the bulk of our college and university students, Socialism was a thing almost unknown except as a "bogey man" to be laughed at or feared. Yet it was already the bright and shining hope of millions of common folks in Europe and increasing thousands in America.

Today the whole picture has been changed. Collectivism of some kind and degree is the order of the day. Nowhere in the world, except

in the United States, does the economic order conform to the capitalism of the textbooks or of our youthful experience. Even the United States has accepted a degree of state intervention in the economic order entirely incompatible with the genius of that private capitalism which boasted that it was self regulated by "the automatic equilibrium of markets." Yet the decline of private capitalism has not seen a victory for its old foe, the Socialism of a Gene Debs, a Keir Hardie, a Jean Jaurès, or an August Bebel. On the contrary, the great Second International has been broken, its leaders put to death, confined in concentration camps, or driven into exile. Democratic Socialism in almost all of Europe has been driven underground or completely liquidated. Only in Great Britain is it a powerful force.

The Socialism of the left, in its Communist form, still holds power over the vast stretches of the Soviet Union. Its various Communist Parties are still a force to be reckoned with, but Stalinist Communism far more nearly resembles fascism in action than the Socialism of men's hopes back in 1905.

In short, the world has already lived far into a social revolution—an ugly revolution—not conforming to the pattern of our desires, but nevertheless an inexorable revolution. We cannot possibly bring the old days back. What follows will be either very much better or very much worse. The outstanding conflict of our times, even in America, is not private capitalism versus socialism. It is the totalitarian state versus the cooperative commonwealth.

The Task of the I.I.D.

In understanding this conflict and interpreting it, the I.I.D. still has a role of importance to play. It is a continuance of a role which it has played with usefulness and modest distinction these thirty-five years. By choice the I.I.D. has not sought to be a political party or a labor union or to usurp the functions of either. By choice it is not dogmatic on all the great issues of the times. What it has lost of influence in certain respects, it has gained in others, as essentially an educational enterprise, concerned primarily with understanding and interpreting the economic forces which sweep us toward some kind of new order. It has not officially taken sides even on such absorbing issues for the United States as war or peace. It has, therefore, been able to a very appreciable degree to serve as a meeting place for men and women of different views. I hope it will continue this service and

make a very real contribution to that new theory and technique of co-operative or Socialist action, which must be worked out.*

Clearly, Socialism will not be automatically achieved by any existing class, process, or means. The drift is toward the totalitarian state. The totalitarian state cannot possibly be opposed successfully by the advocacy of a return to the economic order of William McKinley tempered by the social reforms which Franklin Roosevelt adopted from Socialist immediate demands. The question "What can be done?" should be at the heart of the I.L.D.'s inquiry. To arouse intelligent interest in that question is its supreme function."

THE TASK AHEAD

Following the welcoming address of Dr. John Dewey, a number of distinguished members and friends of the League extended brief greetings to the League and dealt with the task ahead. Many of these greetings were broadcast to the unseen radio audience through the courtesy of WEYD. They were as follows:

DR. BJARNE BRAATØY

Scandinavian writer, author and laborite

In tragic circumstances I speak to you as one intimately associated for many years with those movements in Norway and Scandinavia, which have been so successful in putting into practice the ideals for which your organization stands.

You all know how the nations of Northern Europe had been pushing ahead during the last decade towards a new equality. They were finding the civilized way of solving social conflict. They were so successful that no reactionary force within their own frontiers could be said to threaten their achievements. That was left to an alien and barbarous aggressor, which today threatens the very foundations of civilized progress.

In Scandinavia we still consider what is happening as a passing shadow. Our achievements have made the front secure against the aggressor, even though he reaches out for military and economic advantages. He cannot destroy that self-confidence which our successes have left with us. The struggle for a true democracy has gone on for ages in Norway and Scandinavia. It will continue through the ages and be successful as it becomes international in scope. For that

*The Board of Directors of the I.L.D. at its Fall meeting of 1940, passed the following resolution:

"The interest of the League for Industrial Democracy today as in the past is primarily concerned with the central problem of 'education for a new social order based on production for use and not for profit.' The League has long sought to unite within its ranks those interested in this central problem of a democratic industrial order. It contains in its membership men and women of varying points-of-view on the foreign policy which, in their opinion, should be pursued by the United States. The League has taken no stand, and does not plan in the future to take a stand, on such problems as conscription, war and peace and other questions of United States foreign policy. The members of the Board and of the staff today, as in the past, are free to express their personal opinions on these questions, with the understanding that these opinions shall not be set forth as opinions of the League. The League in the future, as in the past, cannot be held responsible as an organization for these opinions."

purpose we of the Scandinavian nations and all the democracies need you, the United States of America.

ROGER N. BALDWIN

Director, American Civil Liberties Union

For some years it has been my privilege to appear on I.L.D. platforms all over the country. The League has been broad-minded enough to let me talk on my specialty, civil liberties, and I have been broad-minded enough to include industrial democracy. This is a natural partnership, neither can succeed without the other. Civil liberties, as the heart of political democracy, cannot endure under industrial autocracy. Industrial democracy cannot be achieved without civil liberty.

Broadly conceived, our relationship constitutes the substance of world struggle today. We confront these issues—Can democratic procedure succeed in socializing capitalism? Can democratic nations resist fascism except by socializing capitalism?

The enemies of civil liberty are the enemies of industrial democracy. Having a common enemy we are naturally engaged in a common crusade. The concern of the moment—national defense—is meaningless without extending, as in England, the power of the people against the reactionaries. These desperate days challenge us all to the vastly greater tasks of realizing a common faith.

NATHANIEL M. MINKOFF

Secretary-Treasurer, Joint Board, Dress and Waistmakers' Union of Greater New York

Those of us who spend our lives in the practical, everyday work of the labor movement, where theories and ideals so often tend to become obscured, can appreciate perhaps better than many others the immense value of the fundamental educational work for a new social order carried on by the League for Industrial Democracy in the thirty-five years of its fruitful existence. The restricted, rather prosaic tasks in which we are immersed in the trade unions and on the political field gain new meaning and vital significance in these larger perspectives.

This is an age of deep intellectual ferment. Landmarks cherished for decades have been swept away by the ruthless course of events. Every idea, every belief and conviction, no matter how precious, must be weighed and examined with open eyes and an open mind. New problems of social life press for sober, realistic consideration. It is here that the contribution of the I.L.D., already great with service, can become truly outstanding in the days ahead.

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG

Secretary-Treasurer Emeritus of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America Member Board of Higher Education, New York City

In the year 1905, when the League for Industrial Democracy was organized, Russia occupied a conspicuous place in the world's news. On January 22, workers in St. Petersburg, in a peaceful procession, carrying a petition to the Czar, were shot down by his troops. That gave Russia Red Sunday. Throughout the year there were strikes in Russia; the crew of the battleship Kniaz Potemkin seized the ship; there was mutiny among the troops in Kronstadt. The Czar's government was forced to grant religious freedom, civil rights and abolish press censor-

ship. In that year, also, Japan defeated Russia, and emerged as a first class world power.

Later Japan and Russia, and also Italy, were partners in the world war for democracy, against Germany. In the present world war Russia and Japan are with Germany and Italy in an unholy alliance for totalitarianism and dictatorship.

In 1905, the first long distance flight in a Wright brothers' plane was made, flying 24 miles in 38 minutes. Now, 35 years later, we have flying fortresses, the swiftest messengers of death and destruction, uniting the European continent in shame and slavery. With the aid of the magic achievements of science in the past thirty-five years mankind is now doing a thorough job in self-annihilation.

In 1905 the United States was steadily moving to the top of industrial and finance capitalism. Today ours is the only great nation in the capitalist order not under fire. In 1905 organized labor in America was about 2,000,000 strong; it is estimated to be 8,000,000 now, but divided.

With the exception of Great Britain no labor movements exists in Europe now. Gone are the French, German, Austrian, and other labor movements of the old world.

On the thirty-fifth anniversary of the League for Industrial Democracy, when civilization in Europe is engaged in the task of committing suicide, we may hope that our country may be the Mount Ararat from which a new world civilization will begin after the red flood. May we also hope that the American labor movement will be able to meet the new situation and shape a new social order.

LEONARD D. ABBOTT

Writer, Editor, a Founder of the League

I am proud to be one of the three survivors of the nine who signed the original call for the organization of what is now the League for Industrial Democracy. Jack London, first president of the society, was one of the magnets that drew me. He criticized mercilessly the tendency on the part of many an academic institution to engage in what he called the "passionless pursuit of passionless intelligence." He made a spectacular lecture tour of the principal colleges, and I was inflamed by his lectures.

Upton Sinclair, also a founder, was a second magnet. I had helped to convert him to Socialism, and he, in turn, gave me assignments to visit Columbia, Wesleyan, and other universities in the interest of our ideals. Upton Sinclair, like Jack London, believed that college students should give heed not only to their academic and classical studies, but also to the social sciences—to municipal ownership, graft, child labor, poverty and unemployment, imperialism and war.

In cooperation with Jack London, Upton Sinclair, and a score of others prominent in the activities of the League for Industrial Democracy, I have preached the gospel of collectivism to the youth of America.

Our watchword now, as thirty-five years ago, should be: "Education for a new social order based on production for use, not for profit."

JESSIE WALLACE HUGHAN

*Educator, author, worker for peace
Member Board of I.S.S. and L.I.D., 1907-*

For the better part of its thirty-five years, the L.I.D., which I still love to think of as the old I.S.S., has meant for me two personalities, Harry Laidler and

Norman Thomas. The Intercollegiate Socialist Society, which might have been just one more hare-brained group of hair-brained intellectuals, was moulded into a dignified and responsible organization by Harry Laidler, then a red-checked college fellow, fresh from touring the Middle West as the "boy spellbinder," now councilman of the greatest city in the world and known as a scholar in both Europe and America.

And we all know that Norman Thomas, the one Presidential candidate at whom no one would think of throwing eggs and waste-baskets, would now be in Congress, or in a still higher place, if he had been willing to desert the minority and go over to the majority, to give up the L.I.D. and the Socialist party for the pleasure of riding the top wave of liberalism.

I pay tribute tonight to these two men, whose brilliant intellects and unselfish devotion have made the L.I.D. what it is.

MARY FOX

Long L.I.D. Executive Secretary

Tonight we recall with gratitude and satisfaction the years of service of the L.I.D. From its inception the League opened new vistas of social thought and gave clear voice and leadership to the aspirations of thousands of young men and women, many of whom have since achieved distinction in various fields of community endeavor. During the fabulous decade of the '20's it was one of the few steady voices which spoke economic sense. It met the challenge of the depression—was at once a rallying center of constructive discussion and education and a catalytic agent in the achievement of long delayed services that expressed social responsibility for the unemployed worker, the farmer, the aged and the handicapped . . . for all who suffered from the maladjustments of the machine age under capitalism. It has served as an auxiliary aid to labor in its efforts to organize.

Today, in a world of catastrophic change, the L.I.D. faces a greater challenge than any it has met in the past. May it have in the future, as in the past, creative leadership which will abandon old clichés, think through new problems with vigor and act with such courage and imagination as will find a purposeful response from a bewildered youth . . . aspiring but more despairing than our country has ever known.

MARY W. HILLIER

Of the New World Resettlement Fund, Former Director L.I.D. Lecture Series

One cannot be an impresario unless one believes in the company one represents. For seven years, as impresario for the League, I took busses and upper berths from Maine to Texas and from Alabama to Michigan. My belief in its fundamental rightness was as strong when I resigned from the staff as when I came on from Chicago—not by economic determinism but social conviction.

Many of you will remember that my main work with the League was to educate the hinterland in mass production groups through our lecture series. And we did—in one year more than 46 cities throughout the country sponsored our program with audiences ranging in attendance from 200 to 1000! But it could not have been done if we had not found eager, cooperative League members and sympathizers who did the difficult, important work of organizing sponsoring committees, hiring the halls, underwriting the expenses, silencing the critics and entertaining the speakers. And they and we did such a good job that

one zealous but contented young man wrote, and I quote, "You have done such fine educational work in our city that we do not need you any more. You prepared us for the New Deal—you gave us the New Deal and now your job is finished!"

But we know that the job is not finished! For the New Deal we are grateful, but the League program is much more fundamental and far reaching than the social legislative program carried out in the last years. We believe in 'Education for a new social order based on production for use and not for profit.' Our task will not be finished and we cannot cease being impressarios until that new social order of economic democracy, social justice and world peace is established.

WALLACE J. CAMPBELL

Assistant Secretary of the Cooperative League of the U.S.A.

I bring greetings as an alumnus of the L.I.D. Summer School, class of '34—not as a graduate of the L.I.D.—for I hope always to be a member of the League. The school you folks made possible for a score of green college kids was an experience-studded education. Harlem, Yorkville, the lower East Side and our home towns became part of the life of the world.

The summer school also brought me in personal contact with The Cooperative League, leaving me a double debt of gratitude.

The L.I.D. has always encouraged voluntary consumer cooperation as one of the roads to industrial democracy. When The Cooperative League of the U.S.A. was formed in 1916, your Harry Laidler was one of its active charter members. His study of the British consumer co-ops, first published in *Pearson's Magazine*, went through many pamphlet editions. Through the years, L.I.D. publications have stressed the need for organizing as workers, as citizens and as consumers.

The consumer co-ops are growing faster in America today than in any other part of the world at any other time. To produce the goods they distribute they have built feed and flour mills, paint and grease factories, fertilizer factories, oil refineries and pipe lines; drilled oil wells and started their own banking structure.

No panacea—the co-ops demonstrate that the common people can solve their own problems democratically if they will work together. Among its many achievements, the L.I.D. can be proud of its part in educating for cooperation.

JOEL SEIDMAN

*Former Vice-President of the American Federation of Teachers;
Lecturer and former Field Secretary of the L.I.D.*

In my travels through the colleges I have found large numbers of students who are wholly unacquainted with the fundamentals of Socialist and liberal thought. For 35 years the L.I.D. has sought to enlighten such groups, and through this period it has had under its influence successive generations of college youth. It pioneered in this work in 1905; today its efforts are as needed and as fruitful as ever. Its educational work must be carried on if important sections of the middle class are to be converted to our program of peaceful and progressive social change. We must do more tonight than greet the L.I.D. and congratulate it on the achievements of the past; we must resolve that this effective agency to advance our Socialist ideal must continue and expand its work in the difficult years that lie ahead.

Leroy E. Bowman, Field Secretary of the L.I.D., who had just returned from a lecture trip under the League auspices in New England and the Middle Atlantic States, described at the Thirty-fifth Anniversary Dinner some of the opportunities before the League and urged the cooperation of the members of the audience in League work during the coming year.

SOME GREETINGS TO THE LEAGUE

Scores of messages of greetings were sent to the League on the occasion of its Thirty-fifth Anniversary. Among them were the following:

SIR WALTER CITRINE

Secretary of the British Trade Union Congress

In these days when democratic institutions are under attack it is encouraging to know that your organization is applying its attention to the establishment of industrial democracy based upon the sound principle of production for use and not for profit.

As in the political sphere it is the insistence of the people to participate in the making of laws and the government of the countries in which they live, so in industry, despite the formidable difficulties, will the demand of the workers to exercise a greater measure of control over their working conditions become increasingly insistent. The work of your League in educating the people to understand the true meaning of democracy can play an important part.

DR. JOHN LOVEJOY ELLIOTT

*Of Hudson Guild, Ethical Culture leader, former President of
National Federation of Settlements*

The League for Industrial Democracy was in the field of preparing the way for a real democracy before many of the organizations of which we hear so much today, were even thought of.

It has a fine record for courage, effectiveness and inspiration. It keeps up the courage of the old workers and makes effective the work and thinking of young people.

During the next thirty-five years may it reap the fruits of the accomplishments of the last thirty-five years.

UPTON SINCLAIR

*Author, Founder and first Vice-President of the
I.S.S., Predecessor of the L.I.D.*

I believe that the present war represents a collapse of the capitalist system for good and all. It is a penalty which the various nations are paying for not heeding the information and advice which we of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society and the League for Industrial Democracy have been giving them during the past thirty-five years. It would be too optimistic to hope that they will believe us now in the midst of the crashing of bombs, but it needs no prophet to see that when peace is declared again there will be thirty million workers out of employment in the United States, and such a debt that all the labor of future

generations could not pay. There will be no possibility but the immediate taking over of basic industry and putting it to work under a system of production for use.

DANIEL W. HOAN

*Former Mayor of Milwaukee, former President of
United States Conference of Mayors*

It is perfectly obvious that political democracy is being placed in jeopardy throughout the world, not only because of the drive of the totalitarian states but because of the collapse of the industrial system itself. Nothing short of the democratization of industry will be of final assistance in preserving our political democracy. There is greater need for your work from now on than heretofore because of the frightful crisis we face.

DR. A. A. BERLE, JR.

Assistant Secretary of State

Let me send you a word of greeting on the occasion of your Thirty-fifth Anniversary Dinner.

The League for Industrial Democracy has valiantly championed the cause of evolutionary social reform in the United States. Today its opportunities are greater than ever.

American liberalism is about to take on a new and more active life. It has been freed from the tragic illusion that progress could be made through dictatorship, and the still more dangerous idea that American progressive thought had to be tested by some foreign standard. The repatriation of American liberals, and the liberation of American liberalism from the shackles of sterile European revolutionary thought has removed the greatest single obstacle towards working for industrial democracy.

In this spirit of reawakened Americanism the League for Industrial Democracy can play a significant and vital part.

JOHN M. CARMODY

Administrator of Federal Works Agency

On this occasion I should like to suggest that there is so much uncertainty in the world that all right-thinking people will welcome constructive answers to the question, "Where Do We Go From Here?", from the group of scholars who are sponsoring your Anniversary Dinner, and from those who are addressing you.

Words that we read and hear from abroad and photographs that we see indicate that bombs are destroying great works of art, great business establishments, and the homes of men and women and children. This indeed is cruel destruction, but it is not all, because these bombs and the philosophy that motivates them are destroying the foundations of the humanities that have taken centuries to build.

DR. HARRY J. CARMAN

*Professor of History, Columbia University;
Member of Board of Higher Education, New York City*

You and your associates have done and are doing a splendid work in these perilous but interesting times. When we seem to be going through changes of a very fundamental character it is highly important for us to examine thoroughly

our social and political institutions, with a view to their improvement. This, as I see it, is exactly what the League for Industrial Democracy has been doing throughout its existence. It is a pleasure to pay tribute to an organization that has contributed so constructively to this end.

DR. E. A. ROSS

*Chairman of the National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union;
former Professor of Sociology, University of Wisconsin, formerly
President American Sociological Society*

The L.I.D. ought to adapt itself to changing circumstances and for this reason I think it would do well to throw its best effort for the present into stemming the fascist tide which is evidently rising in this country and making itself felt in the truly shocking trappings upon civil liberties which occur here and there. I am just back from the organization meeting of a Federation for Constitutional Rights in Oklahoma. Never have I seen a more shameless endeavor by a little knot of 8 to 10 persons led by a preacher to ditch such a movement.

OWEN R. LOVEJOY

*Former Secretary of the National Child Labor Association;
first Treasurer of I.S.S.*

I congratulate you and the League on 35 years of constructive and useful work, and regret that it will not be possible for me to be with you at the dinner.

My interest is as keen as ever in the purpose for which the Intercollegiate Socialist Society was formed in 1905—"to promote an intelligent interest in socialism"—though today I should wish to expand that field of intelligent interest, to include serious study of all political or economic programs which are influencing social destinies, including, of course, our own casually accepted democracy.

LEWIS GANNETT

Literary Critic

It is an achievement for an organization to live a third of a century without hardening of the arteries. Indeed, in these days, it is an achievement even to remain alive. I congratulate you. And, in congratulating you, my mind goes back to one of the most exciting weeks of my entire life—one spent at an I.S.S. conference on the New Hampshire shore, probably in the fall of 1915. Anna Strunsky Walling was there, and like a flame; so was Rose Pastor Stokes. So were people who since have diverged as much as John Spargo and Harry Dana. Individuals have changed, the I.S.S. has changed, the world has changed since then, and still people live in fear of change. If the L.I.D. is as effective today as it was then, in rousing young folks to the possible creativeness of change, it is doing its job.

DEVERE ALLEN

Author, Editor of No Frontiers

I want to send my greetings to those present and in particular to my friends of the L.I.D. who are contributing so much to sanity and the necessary insistence upon economic fundamentals, in a time of increasing superficiality and hysteria. I could not honestly look back over the last quarter of a century, which spans precisely the time of my awareness of the L.I.D. and various connections with it, without feeling profoundly grateful. As an under-graduate it lifted me out of

a fog of merely sentimental good will toward oppressed minorities and the underprivileged masses, and gave a more solid and realistic content (though not content) to my thought. Since then it has always been a sort of outpost, making us all face the demands of honesty and realism if social changes are to be brought about effectively, in economic, political or cultural terms.

DR. JESSE H. HOLMES

Former Professor of Philosophy, Swarthmore College

The L.I.D. is one of the very few agencies that steadily and effectively serves in the education of our citizens toward useful citizenship. With the best will in the world for the attainment of the common good, those whose minds are foggy about the ends they seek and uncertain as to the means for their attainment are quite as likely to inquire the causes they would serve as to help them. We can fight our enemies but Lord deliver us from our stupid friends. May the L.I.D. long continue to turn dangerous friends into effective fellow-workmen, by its clear, impartial and timely teaching.

JAMES MYERS

Secretary of the Commission on Social Service, Federal Council of Churches

Congratulations on the years of outstanding leadership and splendid service to the cause of democracy in America.

DOROTHY DUNBAR BROMLEY

Columnist

The L.I.D.'s job, it seems to me, is to keep hope alive for an industrial democracy and to keep open the channels of unprejudiced thoughts. It is needed now more than ever.

OTHER MESSAGES

Other messages were received from W.E.V. DuBois, Katherine Maltby Meserole, Freda Kirchwey, Mark Starr and many others.

Regrets at inability to attend the dinner because of previous engagements or distance from the city, were received from Mayor Fiorello H. La Guardia, Upton Sinclair, William F. Cochran, Robert Morris Lovett, Bishop Francis J. McConnell, Mary R. Sanford, Helen Phelps Stokes, John Haynes Holmes, James H. Maurer, Alexander Meiklejohn, Wesley C. Mitchell, William H. Kilpatrick, Frederic C. Mills, David L. Clendenin, Henry R. Linville, John A. Fitch, Rose Schneiderman and numerous others, including many labor leaders attending their various conventions.

Many civic leaders were present at the dinner, including Dr. William J. Schiefelin, chairman of the Citizens Union, Stanley H. Isaacs, President of the Borough of Manhattan, Mary K. Sinkovitch, member of New York Housing Authority, Robert D. Kohn, President Society for Ethical Culture and former President of American Institute of Architects, S. John Block, Oswald Garrison Villard, Commissioners Paul J. Kern and Wallace S. Sayre, Dr. William Pickens, Dr. Edward T. Devine, Darwin J. Meserole, Anna Strunsky Walling, Professors Vladimir G. Sinkovitch, Harry J. Carman, George W. Hartmann, Henry Pratt Fairchild, Willard E. Atkins, Arthur Feller, from Columbia, New York University and New School for Social Research. Tables were reserved for representatives from several labor organizations.

Join the League for Industrial Democracy

The League for Industrial Democracy is a membership society engaged in education for a new social order based on production for use and not for profit. To this end, the League issues pamphlets, conducts research, lecture and information services, organizes city and college chapters and sponsors conferences, forums, luncheon discussions and radio talks.

Membership in the League is open to those who favor the principle of production for use and not for profit, the principle of social ownership and democratic control of the key industries of the country. Others are welcome as auxiliary members.

Members receive the six or more pamphlets published during the year by the League, the *L. I. D. News-Bulletin*, issued quarterly, and notices of all of the League's important gatherings. They select the League's Board of Directors. In cities where League chapters exist, members are also entitled, without extra dues, to membership in the local chapters.

The yearly L.I.D. dues are: Active members, \$3; Contributing members, \$5; Sustaining members, \$10 to \$25; Life members, \$100.

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